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San Francisco, California

HISTORIC RESOURCE EVALUATION

July 26, 2001
Updated September 10, 2007

DOCUMENTS DEPT.

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the San Francisco Housing Authority (SFHA), Carey & Co. conducted a resource evaluation of the Hunters View housing complex located in San Francisco. This evaluation report was intended to serve as a determination of the complex's significance as a compliance measure for Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). The SFHA had various rehabilitation projects on the complex, and these federally-funded projects (funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development) would have triggered a Section 106

METHODOLOGY

Carey & Co. prepared this evaluation by visiting the site to inspect the property, taking photographs, and conducting archival historic research. During the site visits Carey & Co. evaluated the existing conditions, historic features, and architectural significance of the complex. The original site visit was carried out on June 13, 2001. Because the residential units are occupied, the interiors were not surveyed. Carey & Co. also conducted archival research on Hunters View and the history of housing projects in general at the San Francisco Housing Authority offices, the San Francisco Public Library and History Room, and several libraries at the University of California, Berkeley, including Doe Library, Bancroft University Archives, the Environmental Design Library, and the College of Environmental Design Archives.

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**Hunters View Housing Development
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INTRODUCTION

In 2001, at the request of the San Francisco Housing Authority (SFHA), Carey & Co. undertook a historic resource evaluation of the Hunters View housing complex located in San Francisco. This evaluation report was intended to serve as a determination of the complex's historic significance as a compliance measure for Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (NHPA). The SFHA had various rehabilitation projects planned for this housing complex, and these federally-funded projects (funded by the Department of Housing and Urban Development) would have triggered a Section 106 review process.

METHODOLOGY

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An additional site visit was carried out on August 21, 2007 and additional archival research pertaining to Donald Beach Kirby, the development's architect, was conducted in order to evaluate the property's potential significance as a historic resource.

SUMMARY

Carey & Co.'s evaluation was based on the eligibility criteria for the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) and California Register of Historical Resources (CRHR), which require that a historic resource be at least fifty years old (except under special circumstances), that it be significant under at least one of four criteria, and that it retain its historic integrity. These four criteria include: association with historic events, association with important persons, distinctive design or physical characteristics, and the potential to provide important information about history or prehistory. In determining National Register and California Register eligibility, Carey & Co. evaluated known historical associations, architectural merit, and the facility's current level of integrity.

We have assigned the property a NRHP and CRHR Status Code of 6Z, which indicates, in our professional opinion, that neither the Hunters View property as a whole nor any of the individual buildings thereon is eligible for listing in the National or California Registers. Based on this opinion, we also concluded that there would not be an impact from the proposed project, as demolition of non-historic resources would not constitute a significant effect on the environment, under the California Environmental quality Act (CEQA).

DESCRIPTION

This Hunters View housing development, completed in 1956, consists of 55 buildings containing 10 one-bedroom units, 130 two-bedroom units, 112 three-bedroom units, 64 four-bedroom units, and 9 five-bedroom units. The buildings are situated on a steep 17.15-acre site with sweeping views to the east of the San Francisco Bay. Middle Point Road bisects the property with three cul-de-sacs on its east side and one large U-shaped street (West Point Road) on its west side. The rectangular buildings are sited both parallel and at angles to these streets. Between the buildings is a circulation network of concrete walkways and stairs, laundry drying areas, and common yards with playground equipment.

The buildings at the project site are a mix of two- and three-story wood-frame, rectangular buildings with flat roofs and projecting eaves. The exterior cladding is a combination of stucco and vertical board-and-batten, while the windows are replacement one-over-one double-hung and sliding aluminum sash. The long elevations are broken up by upper level projections at either end of the building. The metal fire escapes at the side elevations feature corrugated metal at the balconies. The front entries feature asphalt shingle-clad shed canopies. Two building types are clearly more "International Style" in design than the others—they feature very cubic massing with

long ribbon windows and the upper levels are articulated with a perimeter edge that projects beyond the wall plane.

The main community center on West Point Road features alternating roof sections—the two end sections are gabled, while the center roof plane slants to the east. To the north of this building is a playground surrounded with chain link fence. The concrete walks have the original pipe railing, while the new ADA ramps have modern metal railing. To the south of the community center is a basketball court surrounded by raised concrete planters.

CONDITION AND ALTERATIONS

The exterior of these buildings appear to be in bad to fair condition. Aside from the remaining lawn areas, the majority of the trees and plants from the original landscape for the complex do not appear to be extant. This is most probably a result of lack of maintenance and the natural attrition of plant material.

The architectural design of these buildings remains fairly intact; however certain alterations and improvements have removed original features. The original paneled wood entry doors were replaced with the current solid wood doors at an unknown date. The original wood casement windows were also replaced with aluminum sliding sash windows. Three 3-story buildings were demolished on the east side of West Point Road to accommodate a new community center, a large playground, and a basketball court. According to SFHA documents, most of these alterations probably occurred around 1982. More recently, many of the apartments at Hunters View show signs of neglect. Numerous apartments have been broken into, resulting in damage to the windows and interior and ultimately the boarding up of all apartment openings. In addition, some apartments show signs of significant fire damage and damage to exterior elements.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

History and Background of Public Housing in the United States

Confronting the problems of Depression-era unemployment and the growing slums in America's cities, the federal government began a focused initiative to alleviate unsafe urban living conditions. In the early 1930s, through the Public Works Authority (PWA), the federal government built homes for low-income families illustrating the benefits of modern housing. Spurred on by critics of the nascent housing program, a 1935 court ruling established that the federal government could not appropriate private land for public housing. Because these new programs began in the East, no PWA projects were carried out on the West Coast.

Congress passed the United States Housing Act in 1937, establishing the U.S. Housing Authority (USHA) within the Department of the Interior. This act bypassed earlier court rulings on the legality of federal land confiscation by allowing funding for local housing authorities. Income limits guaranteed that the neediest people benefited from

the program while the mandated elimination of slums insured an increase in the quality, not quantity, of urban housing.

The first USHA secretary, Nathan Straus, believed that clearing slums was important, but that new construction had the potential to benefit the poor more quickly. He appointed Catherine Bauer, an influential supporter of modern public housing, to be in charge of slum clearance deferments. Priorities were set from the beginning, therefore, with the USHA's main emphasis on the construction of new buildings. This policy had an immediate influence on which sites were chosen; some of the first projects tended to be located on empty lots at the edges of cities.

One of the strongest criticisms of the PWA projects was that designers included unnecessary luxuries in an effort to highlight the potential of "modern housing" to help eradicate slum conditions. In reaction to this, the USHA mandated cost limits of \$1000 per room or \$4000 per family unit, thereby impacting the decision-making processes of many local housing authorities. There was an increased reliance on "standardized unit plans," which, in conjunction with "restrictive budgets," "conspired to significantly inhibit creativity in housing design."¹ Since the cost of land was included in the per-room and per-family unit calculations, the high cost of land in San Francisco made meeting the limitations particularly difficult. Indeed, in many cases the City and County of San Francisco had to contribute additional funds to cover expenditures that exceeded the federally-allocated budget.

Site planning was often seen as a way to make housing projects attractive and livable without increasing costs. In 1939, Straus wrote,

In low-rent housing, it is in the plan of the project as a whole—in the relation of the buildings to each other and to the land—that we may provide both insurance against deterioration of the neighborhood and the opportunities for the growth of a better community life.²

For the most up-to-date ideas on public housing site planning, American designers looked to the "European planning and design philosophies" advanced by Catherine Bauer in her seminal book of 1934, *Modern Housing*.³ According to Bauer, the English "super-block" was a large contiguous block of land, defined by multi-use roads along its edges but featuring small vehicle- or pedestrian-only pathways "indented into the periphery of the block."⁴ This concept allowed "very large economies in paving...and at the same time whole neighborhoods were rendered immune from traffic noise and dirt

¹ Robinson & Associates, Inc., and Jeffrey Shrimpton, *Draft Historic Context: Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949* (August 14, 1997), 68.

² Nathan Straus, Foreword to U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Housing Authority, *Design of Low-Rent Housing Projects: Planning the Site* (Bulletin no. 11 on Policy and Procedure, 1939), 3.

³ Oakland Cultural Heritage Survey, *State of California Historic Resources Inventory Form for Peralta Villa* (August 1990), 8.

⁴ Catherine Bauer, *Modern Housing* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), 178.

and dangers.”⁵ Orientation toward sun and air flow was part of the German version of the super-block, *Zeilenbau*, in which parallel rows of buildings led to “[n]o closed courtyards, no traffic, no wasted pavement, and an open vista in two directions for every window and balcony.”⁶ Despite topographical influences, Potrero Terrace and Sunnysdale are the two examples of super-block-type site planning among San Francisco’s five permanent pre-WWII housing projects.

Another way to arrange buildings on a site was referred to as a “court plan.”⁷ Designers using this technique placed inward-facing buildings at the perimeter of the site, creating “spaciousness of effect and esthetically satisfying enclosed areas” between the buildings.⁸ Protected inner courtyards were considered safer for children and easier to maintain than lawns or gardens along the street, and the court plan tended to be chosen when sun, wind, and views were not programmatic considerations, such as on small sites in dense urban neighborhoods. In San Francisco, court plan-type site planning among the first five permanent projects can be seen at Holly Courts, Westside Courts, and Valencia Gardens.

Landscape design was an important component of early housing project design; however, cost limitations and maintenance requirements prohibited the use of many types of plantings. Only the varieties that were “thoroughly hardy and free from horticultural handicaps” were considered appropriate for the purposes of low-rent housing. Trees were not generally recommended due to the desire for maximum sun and wind, and shrubs, flowers, and grass were discouraged because caring for these items was very expensive. Vines, on the other hand, added “the charm of green foliage” and helped reduce the harshness of unarticulated concrete facades.⁹ The federal government also looked favorably on landscape designs that included tenant-maintained areas, believing that this would reduce costs and promote civic pride.

While design and construction of housing projects was the responsibility of local housing authorities, the federal government provided advice and guidance through “education” books or pamphlets. One such book, entitled *Design of Low-Rent Housing Projects: Planning the Site* (1939), described how designers could work with different types of topographic situations. In one example, the preferred scheme for 320 families “on a very steep site in a large western city” lays the buildings along the site contours but cuts the roads across them. The sketch in the book is practically identical to the site plan for Potrero Terrace.¹⁰

As the economy improved in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the USHA experienced several budget cuts. Simultaneously, the country’s increased involvement with World

⁵ Bauer, 178.

⁶ Bauer, 180-1.

⁷ U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Housing Authority, 22.

⁸ U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Housing Authority, 22.

⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Housing Authority, 71.

¹⁰ U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Housing Authority, 46-7.

War II was leading to a housing shortage in cities as workers moved from outlying areas to take defense-related jobs. Eventually, in 1942, the program was folded into the Federal Public Housing Administration (FPHA). This new agency's role was much narrower; it was meant only to administer existing public housing projects and build temporary defense worker housing.

Debates erupted over the temporary nature of the new war-time construction. Private industry supported it because of the potential for a huge post-war housing market; however, public housing advocates believed that quality should not be compromised. In the end, income levels were raised to allow defense workers to occupy public housing legally, projects that were incomplete or only partially occupied by December 1941 were "reclassified" as defense worker housing, landscapes recently installed were not maintained, and the slum clearance policy was eliminated.

By late 1944 Americans began to worry once again about the shortage of permanent affordable housing. Private industry constructed almost 900,000 units of housing during the war, but government estimates indicated that 12,600,000 units of urban housing would have to be built in the decade after the war to meet the needs of a growing population and shift in rural-urban demographics.¹¹ With an overwhelming amount of construction work on the horizon, the government expected private industry to focus on projects providing the highest profit margins, leaving low-income rentals units in precariously short supply. Moreover, returning veterans would require housing while their permanent units were being built.

In reaction to the upcoming housing crisis, a presidential executive order issued in 1945 suspended plans to demolish temporary defense housing units and allowed veterans to occupy them after the end of war-time hostilities. This done, the slow movement of veterans and their families from public housing to private homes opened the way for converting defense housing back to its original low-income purpose and demolishing the many temporary structures which had been constructed quickly and cheaply during the war. It was only in the mid-1950s that local housing authorities completely disposed of temporary defense housing units and public housing occupants were all at the lowest income brackets.

A "powerful real estate lobby" prevented Congress from acting on public housing for several years, although important federal legislation was eventually passed toward the end of the decade.¹² The Housing Act of 1949 made several major modifications to the Housing Act of 1937, allowing the resumption of public housing construction. One major difference was a dramatic increase in federal funding for both loans and subsidies, which combined provided for the creation of 810,000 new public housing units. The other substantive change was in the way construction cost limits were calculated; the new housing law removed the per-dwelling limit and increased the per-room limit,

¹¹ Robinson & Associates, 84-5.

¹² Gwendolyn Wright, "The Evolution of Public Housing Policy and Design in the San Francisco Bay Area," Ph.D. diss. exam (University of California, Berkeley, 1976), 31.

effectively permitting “construction of larger units for big families” without penalty.¹³ These and other “refinements drawn from the 12 years’ experience that has gone before” encouraged local housing authorities to undertake new construction.

Some of the projects built as a result of the Housing Act of 1949 consisted of generously spaced row houses similar to those designed before the war. However, taller buildings with higher densities, such as those found at many later housing projects, were becoming popular at this time because of their ability to alleviate immediate urban housing issues with very small acreage requirements. In a 1952 essay, Catherine Bauer described the complexity of the emerging debate:

A big issue today in connection with slum clearance, public housing, and redevelopment policy in large cities is the decision between elevator apartments and low flats or one-family houses, particularly with respect to the needs of low- or moderate-income families with children. Although in the USA Federal aid makes low density theoretically possible, the trend is toward high buildings due to the combined pressure of central property and political interests, the housing shortage, and the frequent difficulty of finding suitable vacant sites within the city. Also, a great many designers like the concept of architectural urbanity and technological refinement expressed in tall buildings when properly spaced, and among the sophisticated there are those who feel that collective apartment living is more convenient, more efficient, and culturally more desirable than our old small house pattern.¹⁴

Despite increased funding, more liberal cost limits, and the potential savings due to higher densities, the federal government continued to strongly encourage standardized design as a cost-cutting measure. Like before, the government issued a series of bulletins focusing on all aspects of housing construction. Titles such as “Zoning and Rezoning,” “Control of Condensation in Crawl Spaces,” and “Saws—Their Care, Use, and Condition,” suggest an attempt to illuminate a broad range of technical issues through detailed discussions of individual topics. At this point in the second major phase of public housing in the U.S., design appears to have been a low priority, with only one bulletin (entitled “Architectural Planning and Design”) devoted specifically to the topic.

The second wave of support for public housing lasted only a few years longer than the first. The reason for its rapid demise was not war, as was the case in the 1940s, but rather the perception that public housing was failing to achieve the expectations of the programs’ creators. By the mid-1950s, “the general public’s growing unhappiness...with the high incidence of crime, the generally sterile appearance, [and] the rising costs of

¹³ U.S. Department of the Interior, Housing and Home Finance Agency, Public Housing Administration, *A Handbook of Information on Provisions of the Housing Act of 1949* (1949), 14.

¹⁴ Catherine Bauer, *Social Questions in Housing and Town Planning* (London: University of London Press, 1952), 20-1.

construction and maintenance”¹⁵ was evidenced in a considerable change in contemporary writing on the subject of public housing. Fewer articles were written about new public housing projects, with the notable exception being those projects that differed in some way from the standardized norm. Public housing’s most ardent early supporters criticized some aspects of how the flawed implementation of the program had affected the result. Focusing on design, Catherine Bauer wrote:

[T]here is a strong prejudice against the row house in most sections of America. What we need to know is whether its unpopularity is due to inherent factors (such as closeness to neighbors, relatively small yards, and lack of “individuality”) or to the fact that few people have seen or occupied a really well-designed up-to-date version as yet.¹⁶

Respected trade journals printed editorials written by private industry which at times featured emotionally-charged rhetoric such as this, published in the January 1950 issue of *Architect and Engineer*:

If the government would stay off the market, 1950 would almost automatically be another all-time high year for home building. All conditions except that of the socialized housing threat are good.¹⁷

Problems with segregation policies caused even more discussion. Throughout the war local housing authorities had relatively little control over tenant selection; priority was given to defense workers and their families. However, as defense workers and veterans were phased out of public housing and new units were constructed, local housing authorities were again confronted with who to allow into the program and where those individuals would live. While the Housing Act of 1949 provided detailed guidance on how to identify low-income families, it did not address the problem’s demographic aspect. In 1952, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed suit on behalf of three African-American families because they had been denied application to a San Francisco housing project reserved specifically for Caucasians. The San Francisco Housing Authority segregation policy was eventually found unconstitutional, setting the precedent for the rest of the nation.

In reaction to these critiques, officials began looking for other solutions to the country’s affordable housing problems. One infamous strategy was “urban renewal,” in which the existing federal public housing and slum clearance programs were combined with new efforts to develop commercial and transportation features of a given neighborhood. The process began with the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954, which created federal subsidies for private industry projects on land that had been cleared of slums. Another, somewhat lesser-known, later program was referred to as the “scatter plan,” in which local housing

¹⁵ Wright, 42-3.

¹⁶ Bauer, *Social Questions*, 21.

¹⁷ Rodney M. Lockwood, “Increased Home Construction Costs May Result from Federal Housing Program,” *Architect and Engineer* 153, no. 1 (January 1950), 11.

authorities purchased and renovated existing homes in various neighborhoods throughout their city in hopes of lessening the isolation and stigma attached to low-income public housing. Finally, throughout the post-war period the federal government passed legislation making private homes more accessible through new mortgage financing and subsidies.

Public Housing in San Francisco

Like many other local housing authorities, the history of the San Francisco Housing Authority (SFHA) begins with the United States Housing Act of 1937. Empowered by this act, the California Legislature passed the Housing Authorities Law in 1938, which allowed local communities to create their own housing authorities and begin asking for federal funding. The SFHA was formed in 1938 and was among the first California cities to request USHA funding.

In addition to requesting funds, the SFHA's initial efforts were directed toward determining how great the need for public housing was at the time. With the first survey indicating that 46,000 homes in San Francisco were "substandard," the agency planned 11 public housing projects with a total of 2,855 units.¹⁸ Five of these were undertaken before WWII (Holly Courts, Potrero Terrace, Sunnyside, Valencia Gardens, and Westside Courts) and three were completed or partially occupied before December 1941 (Holly Courts, Potrero Terrace, Sunnyside). Of these, two projects deserve particular attention: Holly Courts, because it was the first completed public housing project located west of the Rocky Mountains (May 1940) and was designed by Arthur Brown Jr., and, Westside Courts, because it was the only public housing project in San Francisco programmed specifically for African-American families.

Also like many other housing authorities, the SFHA undertook a public information campaign. This included brochures and pamphlets emphasizing modern conveniences, improved sanitary conditions, and careful planning. One of these brochures, entitled *Holly Courts*, describes the highlighted project with typical language:

The things to notice in the architecture of Holly are the service and simplicity, service to fulfill the basic needs of the tenants in little as well as big factors, in a floor that can be swept easily as well as in walls that won't fall down: simplicity primarily to keep construction costs low. The two together are important to good architecture. . . In spite of their rectangular simplicity and concrete construction, the buildings avoid austerity by the informality, their close relation to the play spaces, and their warm friendly color and texture.¹⁹

War-related changes in public housing policies made the SFHA the largest landlord in the City, managing the five permanent projects as well as 10,000 new temporary housing

¹⁸ "History of the Authority," *San Francisco Housing Authority 1942-1943 Annual Report*, no. 5 (April 15, 1943).

¹⁹ *Holly Courts* (San Francisco: San Francisco Housing Association, 1940), 1.

units. Many of these units were concentrated in Hunters Point, where land was easily secured and close to defense jobs, as well as in areas that private industry considered less desirable, such as steep terrain on Potrero Hill and along Alemany Boulevard. These locations eventually became the sites for permanent housing projects after the war.

Despite this new housing the City experienced a serious housing shortage during and after the war. Three million people moved to California between 1940 and 1947, with most of these choosing to settle in the San Francisco Bay and Los Angeles areas.²⁰ San Francisco's lack of older buildings meant that "there could be less 'filtering' down of homes from one class to another."²¹ Moreover, while federal mortgage programs made it possible for many more people to afford new homes, private industry was unable to build housing fast enough to satisfy demand. The 1945 executive order allowed the SFHA to defer the disposition of temporary war housing; however, the situation continued until the Housing Act of 1949 provided local housing authority officials with new funding and a refined mandate.

Soon after the Housing Act of 1949, the California legislature passed State Article XXXIV. Considered "the major success of the anti-public housing lobby in California," it required that any proposed public housing projects be approved in local referenda.²² When San Francisco voters passed several projects, though, the housing authority was able to proceed relatively unimpeded.

The first projects on the SFHA's list after World War II were the remaining six of the original 11 planned before the war. Designs for Ping Yuen in Chinatown and North Beach Place in North Beach were finished when the program was suspended so these two provided the most logical and most easily achievable starting point for the revived effort. Construction was completed for both projects in 1952, providing the first new permanent public housing in San Francisco in over a decade. Other projects that followed in the early 1950s tended to relate to the ongoing process of phasing out and disposing of temporary defense housing units. This usually meant providing new permanent housing near occupied temporary units or reusing land that had been recently cleared. Building new units adjacent to older ones was also an option, as in the case of Potrero Annex.

While the SFHA was starting to construct new, voter-approved permanent public housing, the agency was fending off negative national attention on its segregation policy. The "neighborhood pattern" policy officially began in 1942 when officials decided to base the racial mix of a project on that of the surrounding neighborhood. Out of the original 11 projects, for example, Westside Courts was set aside for African-Americans because there was a high concentration of African-Americans living in that area, Ping Yuen in Chinatown was reserved solely for the Chinese, and the remaining housing developments were meant for Caucasians. SFHA officials used the federal requirement of

²⁰ Wright, 28.

²¹ Wright, 28.

²² Wright, 33.

neighborhood “harmony” as justification, but within a decade the policy came under attack. In 1950, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors forced the agency into a partial compromise; the SFHA agreed to stop using the policy for tenants in newly designed and constructed projects but was able to continue enforcing it in “all war-deferred projects and existing low-rental housing.”²³ The issue was finally settled by the United States Supreme Court in 1954, one week after its landmark ruling against the “separate but equal” policy in public schools. In the public housing case, the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal from a federal district judge’s ruling that San Francisco’s “neighborhood pattern” policy was unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment.

During the first half of the 1950s, the SFHA’s efforts focused on the disposition of temporary defense housing units, reviving the projects which had been postponed by the war, building new permanent housing, and defending their “neighborhood pattern” policy. The decisions made during this busy period in the agency’s history continue as part of the legacy of San Francisco’s public housing program.

The Development of Hunters View

The Hunters View housing project was designed in 1953-4 by architect Donald Beach Kirby & Associates and land planners French, Jones, Laflin & Associates. Construction began in 1954 and was completed in 1956 with housing for approximately 300 families.

At the time of the project’s development, the Hunters Point neighborhood had already started its slow transition from a temporary defense worker population to a more permanent, family-oriented group of developments. Hunters View was the second of four 1950s-era SFHA projects to be built there, which together eventually created one of San Francisco’s largest and most isolated concentrations of public housing.

In 1952 the SFHA described the design of a similar project, Hunters Point “A,” as a “departure from the original reinforced concrete type of building previously constructed in the Public Housing program.”²⁴ The agency cited the “postwar increase in the cost of construction” and federal per-room limits as reasons for having to “resort to frame and stucco type of building.”²⁵ Indeed, though the built projects planned before the war, including Ping Yuen and North Beach Place, were all of concrete construction, all four of the Hunters Point projects would be built of stucco over wood frame.

To create a more “pleasant environment,” site planning for the Hunters Point projects were based on the “garden-type” plan.²⁶ Similar to the superblock concept popular before the war, roads defined large sections of the project while footpaths provided the interior circulation. Giving less land over to roads meant that more could be allocated to play areas, dry yards, and other common-use features. This was unlike contemporary projects

²³ “Cooperation Agreement Bans Racial Segregation,” *The Journal of Housing* 7, no. 3 (March 1950) 82.

²⁴ San Francisco Housing Authority, *Annual Report* (1952), 3.

²⁵ San Francisco Housing Authority, 3.

²⁶ San Francisco Housing Authority, *Road to the Golden Age: A Report on the First Twenty Years of Operations* (1960), 16.

in dense urban areas, such as Ping Yuen and North Beach Place, where buildings were tightly packed into regular city blocks and the perimeter of the project was well-defined. When compared to low-density, pre-war projects such as Sunnysdale or Potrero Terrace, site planners for the Hunters Point projects appear to have focused less on topography and more on the picturesque placement of buildings in landscape. Hunters Point also offered particularly good views of San Francisco Bay and this doubtless was a factor in the layout of the buildings.

Donald Beach Kirby was a San Francisco-based architect with offices in Marin County and on the Peninsula whose work focused primarily on public buildings. Kirby was born in 1905 in Denver, Colorado and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1926. He started his own practice at the age of 28. Kirby's work included military construction, schools, churches, housing, commercial and industrial projects.²⁷ He held a number of leadership positions throughout his career, including serving as president of the San Francisco chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) and then regional director of the AIA as well as several years as a City Planning Commissioner. In 1950 Kirby established the Artists Equity Association Fine Arts Award, an annual award for "distinguished service in the field of arts in architecture."²⁸ In addition to the Hunters View Housing Project in San Francisco, Kirby designed the Noe Valley Community Center, other public housing developments, the Post Library at the Presidio of San Francisco, an administration building for the San Francisco Recreation and Parks Department, the Twin Peaks School and Miss Burke's School in Lincoln Park.

REGULATORY FRAMEWORK AND SIGNIFICANCE EVALUATIONS

The regulatory background provided below offers an overview of federal and state criteria used to assess historic significance.

Federal Criteria

National Register Bulletin Number 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, describes the Criteria for Evaluation as being composed of two factors. First, the property must be "associated with an important historic context."²⁸ The National Register identifies four possible context types, of which at least one must be applicable at the national, state, or local level. As listed under Section 8, "Statement of Significance," of the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, these are:

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.

²⁷ Biography of Donald Beach Kirby, The Office of the Mayor, San Francisco, January 10, 1957.

²⁸ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, National Register Bulletin 15, Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, 1997, 3.

- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important to prehistory or history.²⁹

Second, for a property to qualify under the National Register's Criteria for Evaluation, it must also retain "historic integrity of those features necessary to convey its significance."³⁰ While a property's significance relates to its role within a specific historic context, its integrity refers to "a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance."³¹ To determine if a property retains the physical characteristics corresponding to its historic context, the National Register has identified seven aspects of integrity:

Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.

Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.

Setting is the physical environment of a historic property.

Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.

Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.³²

Since integrity is based on a property's significance within a specific historic context, an evaluation of a property's integrity can only occur after historic significance has been established.³³

²⁹ National Park Service, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, National Register Bulletin 16A, Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, 1997, 75.

³⁰ National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 15, 3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 44.

³² *Ibid.*, 44-45.

Evaluation

See evaluation following state criteria below.

State Criteria

The California Office of Historic Preservation's Technical Assistance Series #6, *California Register and National Register: A Comparison*, outlines the differences between the federal and state processes. The context types to be used when establishing the significance of a property for listing on the California Register are very similar, with emphasis on local and state significance. They are:

1. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history, or the cultural heritage of California or the United States; or
2. It is associated with the lives of persons important to local, California, or national history; or
3. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values; or
4. It has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important to prehistory or history of the local area, California, or the nation.³⁴

Like the NRHP, evaluation for eligibility to the California Register requires an establishment of historic significance before integrity is considered. California's integrity threshold is slightly lower than the federal level. As a result, some resources that are historically significant but do not meet NRHP integrity standards may be eligible for listing on the California Register.³⁵

California's list of special considerations is shorter and more lenient than the NRHP. It includes some allowances for moved buildings, structures, or objects, as well as lower requirements for proving the significance of resources that are less than 50 years old and a more elaborate discussion of the eligibility of reconstructed buildings.³⁶

³³ Ibid., 45.

³⁴ California Office of Historic Preservation, *California Register and National Register: A Comparison*, Technical Assistance Series 6, Sacramento, CA: California Department of Parks and Recreation, 2001, 1.

³⁵ California Office of Historic Preservation, *California Register and National Register*, 1.

³⁶ Ibid., 2.

In addition to separate evaluations for eligibility to the California Register, the state will automatically list resources if they are listed or determined eligible for the NRHP through a complete evaluation process.³⁷

California Historical Resource Status Codes

The California Historic Resource Status Codes (status codes) are a series of ratings created by the California Office of Historic Preservation (SHPO) to quickly and easily identify the historic status of resources listed in the state's historic properties database. These codes were revised in August 2003 to better reflect the many historic status options available to evaluators. The following are the seven major status code headings:

1. Properties listed in the National Register or the California Register.
2. Properties determined eligible for listing in the National Register or the California Register.
3. Appears eligible for National Register or California Register through Survey Evaluation.
4. Appears eligible for National Register or California Register through other evaluation.
5. Properties recognized as historically significant by local government.
6. Not eligible for listing or designation.
7. Not evaluated for National Register or California Register or needs reevaluation.

EVALUATION OF HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE

A records check verified that Hunters View Housing Development is not listed on the National or California Registers or as a local landmark. It was not evaluated as part of any previous historic survey, including the 1976 Citywide Architectural Survey, the 1968 Junior League Survey (*Here Today*), or any San Francisco Architectural Heritage surveys.

Evaluation of California Register Eligibility

To be potentially eligible for listing on the CRHR, a structure must typically be over 50 years old, must have historic significance, and must retain its physical integrity. The housing development at Hunters Point is 51 years old, having been constructed in 1956. The property, therefore, meets the age requirement.

Criterion A/1 (Event)

The Hunters View housing development cannot be considered historically significant under Criterion 1 for its association with post-World War II housing developments.

³⁷ All State Historical Landmarks from number 770 onward are also automatically listed on the California Register. (California Office of Historic Preservation, *California Register of Historical Resources: The Listing Process*, Technical Assistance Series 5, Sacramento, CA: California Department of Parks and Recreation, n.d., 1.)

Hunters View was constructed as a public housing development in the 1950s. During this time period, the Hunters Point neighborhood was already in the process of transitioning from temporary defense worker housing to permanent, family-oriented residential projects. However, Hunters View was not the first housing development in San Francisco since Ping Yuen in Chinatown and North Beach Place in North Beach were constructed in 1952, a year before Hunters View was designed.

Nor was Hunters View considered the most significant of these developments. While the Westside Courts is significant for being the only housing development to reserve occupancy solely for African-Americans and the Ping Yuen for housing only Chinese, Hunters View was the second of four housing developments reserved solely for Caucasians.³⁸ While events associated with the development of public housing during the 1950s are significant to broad trends of economic and social development, Hunters View's association with this trend of development is not significant enough to qualify for the NRHP or CRHR under Criterion A/1.

Criterion B/2 (Person)

Archival research uncovered no association between the Hunters View housing development and any persons significant to local, California, or national history. As such, the subject property is not eligible for the NRHP or CRHR under Criterion B/2.

Criterion C/3 (Design/Construction)

The Hunters View housing development does not represent the work of a master. Donald Beach Kirby is well recognized for his contribution to the design of various public projects. Kirby's design of Hunters View reflects the public housing program's standardized unit plan and post-war budgetary constraints, and thus, are not distinguishing representations of his work. Although some of the building types constructed at Hunters View distinctly reference an "International Style," they do not possess high artistic value, nor do they represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

The Hunters View housing development represents standard public housing design and construction in the 1950s. Although wood framed, stucco-clad construction was considered a departure from the reinforced concrete construction standard of the Public Housing program, all of the projects in the Hunters Point neighborhood were built using wood and stucco to cut down on construction costs. Because it does not represent an outstanding example of its kind as a housing development in the 1950s, nor does it represent the work of a master, the Hunters View housing development does not appear to be eligible for the NRHP or CRHR under Criterion C/3.

Criterion D/4 (Information Potential)

Archival research provided no indication that Hunters View housing development has the potential to yield information important to the prehistory or history of the local area,

³⁸ The other three developments include; Hunters Point "A", Westbrook, and Alemany.

California, or the nation. The property is therefore not eligible for the NRHP or CRHR under Criterion D/4.

We have assigned the Hunters View Housing Development a NRHP and CRHR Status Code of 6Z, which indicates, in our opinion, that the property is not eligible for listing in the National Register of Historic Places or the California Register of Historic Resources.

Integrity

To be listed in the NRHP or CRHR, a property must not only be shown to be significant under the established criteria, it must also possess historic “integrity”. Integrity is defined as “the ability of a property to convey its significance.” The National Register criteria for historic significance recognize seven aspects or qualities that define integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. While Hunters View retains its location and association, substantial alterations and lack of original landscaping have compromised the project’s design, setting, materials, workmanship and feeling. Because historic significance could not be established, a thorough evaluation of the site’s integrity was not conducted.

REGULATORY FRAMEWORK – CALIFORNIA ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY ACT

When a proposed project may cause a substantial adverse change in the significance of an historical resource, CEQA requires a city or county to carefully consider the possible impacts before proceeding (Public Resources Code Section 21084.1). CEQA equates a substantial adverse change in the significance of a historical resource with a significant effect on the environment (Section 21084.1). The Act explicitly prohibits the use of a categorical exemption within the CEQA Guidelines for projects which may cause such a change (Section 21084).

A “substantial adverse change” in the significance of a historical resource is defined as “physical demolition, destruction, relocation, or alteration of the resource or its immediate surroundings such that the significance of an historical resource would be materially impaired.” Further, that the significance of an historic resource is “materially impaired” when a project:

- “demolishes or materially alters in an adverse manner those physical characteristics of an historical resource that convey its historical significance and that justify its inclusion in, or eligibility for inclusion in the California Register of Historical Resources; or
- “demolishes or materially alters in an adverse manner those physical characteristics that account for its inclusion in a local register of historical resources... or its identification in an historical resources survey..., unless the

public agency reviewing the effects of the project establishes by a preponderance of evidence that the resource is not historically or culturally significant; or

- “demolishes or materially alters in an adverse manner those physical characteristics of a historical resource that convey its historical significance and that justify its eligibility for inclusion in the California Register of Historical Resources as determined by a lead agency for purposes of CEQA.” (Guidelines Section 15064.5(b))

CEQA effectively requires preparation of a mitigated Negative Declaration or an EIR whenever a project may adversely impact historic resources. Current CEQA law provides that an EIR must be prepared whenever it can be fairly argued, on the basis of substantial evidence in the administrative record, that a project may have a significant effect on a historical resource (Guidelines Section 15064(f)(1)). A mitigated Negative Declaration may be used where all potentially significant effects can be mitigated to a level of insignificance (Guidelines Section 15064(f)(2)). For example, a mitigated Negative Declaration may be adopted for a project that mitigates significant effects on an historical resource by meeting the Secretary of Interior’s Standards for Rehabilitation and local historic preservation regulations.

For the purposes of CEQA (Guidelines Section 15064.5), the term “historical resources” shall include the following:

1. A resource listed in, or determined to be eligible by the State Historical Resources Commission, for listing in, the California Register of Historical Resources (Pub. Res. Code Section 5024.1, Title 14 CCR, Section 4850 et.seq.).
2. A resource included in a local register of historical resources, as defined in Section 5020.1(k) of the Public Resources Code or identified as significant in an historical resource survey meeting the requirements of Section 5024.1(g) of the Public Resources Code, shall be presumed to be historically or culturally significant. Public agencies must treat any such resource as significant unless the preponderance of evidence demonstrates that it is not historically or culturally significant.
3. Any object, building, structure, site, area, place, record, or manuscript which a lead agency determines to be historically significant or significant in the architectural, engineering, scientific, economic, agricultural, educational, social, political, military, or cultural annals of California, may be considered to be an historical resource, provided the lead agency’s determination is supported by substantial evidence in light of the whole record. Generally, a resource shall be considered by the lead agency to be “historically significant” if the resource meets the criteria for listing in the CRHR (Public Resources Code Section 5024.1, Title 14 CCR, Section 4852) as follows:

- A. Is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of California's history and cultural heritage;
- B. Is associated with the lives of persons important in our past;
- C. Embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, region, or method of construction, or represents the work of an important creative individual, or possesses high artistic values; or
- D. Has yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history. (Guidelines Section 15064.5)

CONCLUSION

In Carey & Co.'s professional opinion, the Hunters View housing development does not appear to be eligible as historically significant under Criteria A/1, B/2, C/3, or D/4, which makes it ineligible for listing on the National Register of Historic Places, or the California Register of Historical Resources. The development has thus been assigned a National and California Historical Resource Status Code of 6Z.

Because the Hunters View development has been found ineligible for consideration as a historic resource for purposes of CEQA, the proposed project to demolish Hunters View and develop new mixed-income housing on the site would not have an impact on historic resources.

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CREDITS

The following individuals participated in this historic resource evaluation report:

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State of California □ The Resources Agency
DEPARTMENT OF PARKS AND RECREATION
PRIMARY RECORD

Primary #

HRI #

Trinomial

NRHP Status Code

Other Listings
Review Code

Reviewer

Date

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*Resource Name or #: Hunters View

P1. Other Identifier: _____ *P2. Location: • Not for Publication ☒ Unrestricted

*a. County San Francisco and

*b. USGS 7.5' Quad _____ Date _____ T _____ R _____ of _____ of Sec _____ B.M.

c. Address Middle Point Road City San Francisco, CA Zip 94124

d. UTM: Zone _____ mE/ _____ mN

e. Other Locational Data:

*P3a. Description:

This housing development consists of 55 buildings containing ten one-bedroom units, 130 two-bedroom units, 112 three-bedroom units, 64 four-bedroom units, and nine five-bedroom units. The buildings are situated on a steep 17.15-acre site with sweeping views to the east of the San Francisco Bay. Middle Point Road bisects the property with three cul-de-sacs on its east side and one large U-shaped street (West Point Road) on its west side. The rectangular buildings are sited both parallel and at angles to these streets. Between the buildings is a circulation network of concrete walkways and stairs, laundry drying areas, and common yards with playground equipment.

See Continuation Sheet

*P3b. Resource Attributes: HP3 Multiple Family

*P4. Resources Present: • Building ☒ Structure • Object • Site • District • Element of District • Other (Isolates, etc.)

P5b. Description of Photo: W. 6/13/01

*P6. Date Constructed/Age and Source: ☒ Historic • Prehistoric

P5a. Photograph or Drawing



• Both

1956, Original Drawings

*P7. Owner and Address:

San Francisco Housing Authority
440 Turk Street
San Francisco, CA 94102

*P8. Recorded by:

Sarah M. Dreller/ Laura E. Brown

*P9. Date Recorded:

06-31-01/08-27-07

*P10. Survey Type: Intensive

*P11. Report Citation:

Hunters View Historic Resource Evaluation

*Attachments:

• NONE ☒ Location Map

☒ Continuation Sheet ☒ Building,
Structure, and Object Record

• Archaeological Record • District Record

• Linear Feature Record • Milling Station

Record • Rock Art Record

• Artifact Record • Photograph Record

• Other (List):

BUILDING, STRUCTURE, AND OBJECT RECORD

*NRHP Status Code 6Z Page 2 of 18

*Resource Name or # Hunters View

B1. Historic Name: Hunters View

B2. Common Name: Hunters View

B3. Original Use: Housing Development

B4. Present Use: Housing Development *B5. Architectural Style: International/Post War Public Housing

*B6. Construction History:

Constructed in 1956

The exterior of these buildings appear to be in bad to fair condition. Aside from the remaining lawn areas, the majority of the trees and plants from the original landscape for the complex do not appear to be extant. This is most probably a result of lack of maintenance and the natural attrition of plant material.

The architectural design of these buildings remains fairly intact; however certain alterations and improvements have removed original features. The original paneled wood entry doors were replaced with the current solid wood doors at an unknown date. The original wood casement windows were also replaced with aluminum sliding sash windows. Three 3-story buildings were demolished on the east side of West Point Road to accommodate a new community center, a large playground, and a basketball court. According to SFHA documents, most of these alterations probably occurred around 1982. More recently, many of the apartments at Hunters View show signs of neglect. Numerous apartments have been broken into, resulting in damage to the windows and interior and ultimately the boarding up of all apartment openings. In addition, some apartments show signs of significant fire damage and damage to exterior elements.

*B7. Moved? ☒ No • Yes • Unknown Date: _____ Original Location: _____ *B8. Related Features:

B9a. Architect: Donald Beach Kirby b. Builder: unknown

*B10. Significance: Theme 1950s era Housing Projects Area San Francisco, CA
Period of Significance 1950s Property Type Residential Applicable Criteria

See Continuation Sheet

B11. Additional Resource Attributes: (List attributes and codes)

*B12. References:

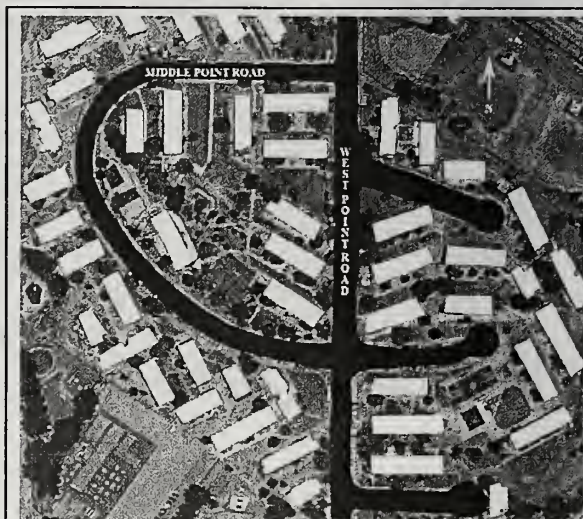
See Continuation Sheet

B13. Remarks:

*B14. Evaluator: Sarah M. Dreller/Laura E. Brown

*Date of Evaluation: 06-13-01/08-27-07

(This space reserved for official comments.)



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*Resource Name or # Hunters View Housing Development

*Recorded by: Carey & Co.

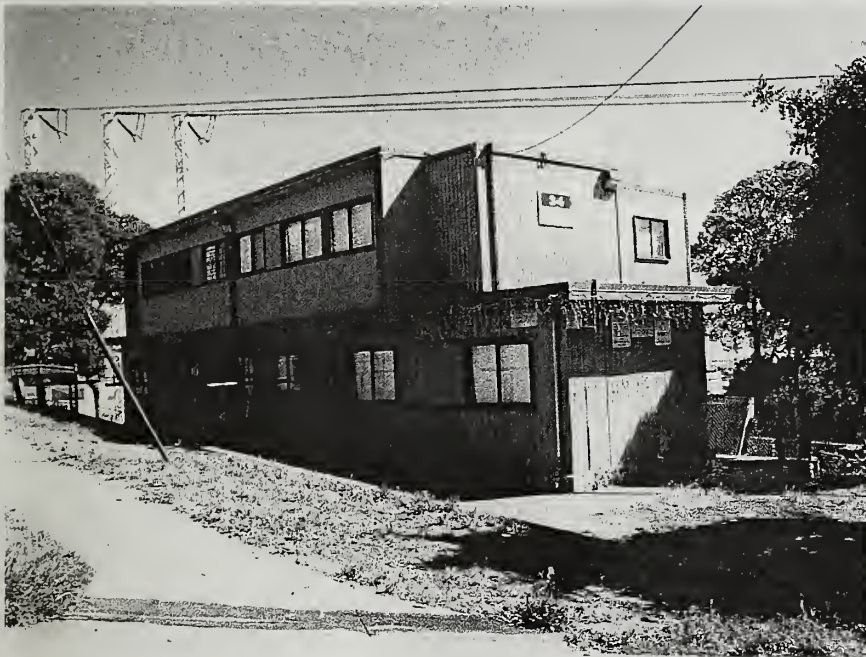
*Date 06-13-2001/08-27-2007

☒ Continuation ☒ Update

Continuation of P3a. Description

The buildings at the project site are a mix of two- and three-story wood-frame, rectangular buildings with flat roofs and projecting eaves. The exterior cladding is a combination of stucco and vertical board-and-batten, while the windows are replacement one-over-one double-hung and sliding aluminum sash. The long elevations are broken up by upper level projections at either end of the building. The metal fire escapes at the side elevations feature corrugated metal at the balconies. The front entries feature asphalt shingle-clad shed canopies. Two building types are clearly more "International Style" in design than the others—they feature very cubic massing with long ribbon windows and the upper levels are articulated with a perimeter edge that projects beyond the wall plane.

The main community center on West Point Road features alternating roof sections—the two end sections are gabled, while the center roof plane slants to the east. To the north of this building is a playground surrounded with chain link fence. The concrete walks have the original pipe railing, while the new ADA ramps have modern metal railing. To the south of the community center is a basketball court surrounded by raised concrete planters.



Hunters View "International Style," facing northeast

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Hunters View 2-3 story building facing east



Hunters View facing east

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Hunters View Community center and laundry, facing west



Hunters View, West Point Road facing south

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View from Hunters View facing west



View from Hunters View facing northeast

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Hunters View 3 story building, facing north



Hunters View "International Style" facing northwest

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Continuation of B10. Building Construction History and Significance

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

History and Background of Public Housing in the United States

Confronting the problems of Depression-era unemployment and the growing slums in America's cities, the federal government began a focused initiative to alleviate unsafe urban living conditions. In the early 1930s, through the Public Works Authority (PWA), the federal government built homes for low-income families illustrating the benefits of modern housing. Spurred on by critics of the nascent housing program, a 1935 court ruling established that the federal government could not appropriate private land for public housing. Because these new programs began in the East, no PWA projects were carried out on the West Coast.

Congress passed the United States Housing Act in 1937, establishing the U.S. Housing Authority (USHA) within the Department of the Interior. This act bypassed earlier court rulings on the legality of federal land confiscation by allowing funding for local housing authorities. Income limits guaranteed that the neediest people benefited from the program while the mandated elimination of slums insured an increase in the quality, not quantity, of urban housing.

The first USHA secretary, Nathan Straus, believed that clearing slums was important, but that new construction had the potential to benefit the poor more quickly. He appointed Catherine Bauer, an influential supporter of modern public housing, to be in charge of slum clearance deferments. Priorities were set from the beginning, therefore, with the USHA's main emphasis on the construction of new buildings. This policy had an immediate influence on which sites were chosen; some of the first projects tended to be located on empty lots at the edges of cities.

One of the strongest criticisms of the PWA projects was that designers included unnecessary luxuries in an effort to highlight the potential of "modern housing" to help eradicate slum conditions. In reaction to this, the USHA mandated cost limits of \$1000 per room or \$4000 per family unit, thereby impacting the decision-making processes of many local housing authorities. There was an increased reliance on "standardized unit plans," which, in conjunction with "restrictive budgets," "conspired to significantly inhibit creativity in housing design."¹ Since the cost of land was included in the per-room and per-family unit calculations, the high cost of land in San Francisco made meeting the limitations particularly difficult. Indeed, in many cases the City and County of San Francisco had to contribute additional funds to cover expenditures that exceeded the federally-allocated budget.

Site planning was often seen as a way to make housing projects attractive and livable without increasing costs. In 1939, Straus wrote,

In low-rent housing, it is in the plan of the project as a whole—in the relation of the buildings to each other and to the land—that we may provide both insurance against deterioration of the neighborhood and the opportunities for the growth of a better community life.²

For the most up-to-date ideas on public housing site planning, American designers looked to the "European planning and design philosophies" advanced by Catherine Bauer in her seminal book of 1934, *Modern Housing*.³ According to Bauer, the English "super-block" was a large contiguous block of land, defined by multi-use roads along its edges but featuring small vehicle- or pedestrian-only pathways "indented into the periphery of the block."⁴ This concept allowed "very large economies in paving...and at the same time whole neighborhoods were rendered

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immune from traffic noise and dirt and dangers.”⁵ Orientation toward sun and air flow was part of the German version of the super-block, *Zeilenbau*, in which parallel rows of buildings led to “[n]o closed courtyards, no traffic, no wasted pavement, and an open vista in two directions for every window and balcony.”⁶ Despite topographical influences, Potrero Terrace and Sunnydale are the two examples of super-block-type site planning among San Francisco’s five permanent pre-WWII housing projects.

Another way to arrange buildings on a site was referred to as a “court plan.”⁷ Designers using this technique placed inward-facing buildings at the perimeter of the site, creating “spaciousness of effect and esthetically satisfying enclosed areas” between the buildings.⁸ Protected inner courtyards were considered safer for children and easier to maintain than lawns or gardens along the street, and the court plan tended to be chosen when sun, wind, and views were not programmatic considerations, such as on small sites in dense urban neighborhoods. In San Francisco, court plan-type site planning among the first five permanent projects can be seen at Holly Courts, Westside Courts, and Valencia Gardens.

Landscape design was an important component of early housing project design; however, cost limitations and maintenance requirements prohibited the use of many types of plantings. Only the varieties that were “thoroughly hardy and free from horticultural handicaps” were considered appropriate for the purposes of low-rent housing. Trees were not generally recommended due to the desire for maximum sun and wind, and shrubs, flowers, and grass were discouraged because caring for these items was very expensive. Vines, on the other hand, added “the charm of green foliage” and helped reduce the harshness of unarticulated concrete facades.⁹ The federal government also looked favorably on landscape designs that included tenant-maintained areas, believing that this would reduce costs and promote civic pride.

While design and construction of housing projects was the responsibility of local housing authorities, the federal government provided advice and guidance through “education” books or pamphlets. One such book, entitled *Design of Low-Rent Housing Projects: Planning the Site* (1939), described how designers could work with different types of topographic situations. In one example, the preferred scheme for 320 families “on a very steep site in a large western city” lays the buildings along the site contours but cuts the roads across them. The sketch in the book is practically identical to the site plan for Potrero Terrace.¹⁰

As the economy improved in the late 1930s and early 1940s, the USHA experienced several budget cuts. Simultaneously, the country’s increased involvement with World War II was leading to a housing shortage in cities as workers moved from outlying areas to take defense-related jobs. Eventually, in 1942, the program was folded into the Federal Public Housing Administration (FPHA). This new agency’s role was much narrower; it was meant only to administer existing public housing projects and build temporary defense worker housing.

Debates erupted over the temporary nature of the new war-time construction. Private industry supported it because of the potential for a huge post-war housing market; however, public housing advocates believed that quality should not be compromised. In the end, income levels were raised to allow defense workers to occupy public housing legally, projects that were incomplete or only partially occupied by December 1941 were “reclassified” as defense worker housing, landscapes recently installed were not maintained, and the slum clearance policy was eliminated.

By late 1944 Americans began to worry once again about the shortage of permanent affordable housing. Private industry constructed almost 900,000 units of housing during the war, but government estimates indicated that 12,600,000 units of urban housing would have to be built in the decade after the war to meet the needs of a growing population and shift in rural-urban demographics.¹¹ With an overwhelming amount of construction work on the horizon, the government expected private industry to focus on projects providing the highest profit margins,

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leaving low-income rentals units in precariously short supply. Moreover, returning veterans would require housing while their permanent units were being built.

In reaction to the upcoming housing crisis, a presidential executive order issued in 1945 suspended plans to demolish temporary defense housing units and allowed veterans to occupy them after the end of war-time hostilities. This done, the slow movement of veterans and their families from public housing to private homes opened the way for converting defense housing back to its original low-income purpose and demolishing the many temporary structures which had been constructed quickly and cheaply during the war. It was only in the mid-1950s that local housing authorities completely disposed of temporary defense housing units and public housing occupants were all at the lowest income brackets.

A "powerful real estate lobby" prevented Congress from acting on public housing for several years, although important federal legislation was eventually passed toward the end of the decade.¹² The Housing Act of 1949 made several major modifications to the Housing Act of 1937, allowing the resumption of public housing construction. One major difference was a dramatic increase in federal funding for both loans and subsidies, which combined provided for the creation of 810,000 new public housing units. The other substantive change was in the way construction cost limits were calculated; the new housing law removed the per-dwelling limit and increased the per-room limit, effectively permitting "construction of larger units for big families" without penalty.¹³ These and other "refinements drawn from the 12 years' experience that has gone before" encouraged local housing authorities to undertake new construction.

Some of the projects built as a result of the Housing Act of 1949 consisted of generously spaced row houses similar to those designed before the war. However, taller buildings with higher densities, such as those found at many later housing projects, were becoming popular at this time because of their ability to alleviate immediate urban housing issues with very small acreage requirements. In a 1952 essay, Catherine Bauer described the complexity of the emerging debate:

A big issue today in connection with slum clearance, public housing, and redevelopment policy in large cities is the decision between elevator apartments and low flats or one-family houses, particularly with respect to the needs of low- or moderate-income families with children. Although in the USA Federal aid makes low density theoretically possible, the trend is toward high buildings due to the combined pressure of central property and political interests, the housing shortage, and the frequent difficulty of finding suitable vacant sites within the city. Also, a great many designers like the concept of architectural urbanity and technological refinement expressed in tall buildings when properly spaced, and among the sophisticated there are those who feel that collective apartment living is more convenient, more efficient, and culturally more desirable than our old small house pattern.¹⁴

Despite increased funding, more liberal cost limits, and the potential savings due to higher densities, the federal government continued to strongly encourage standardized design as a cost-cutting measure. Like before, the government issued a series of bulletins focusing on all aspects of housing construction. Titles such as "Zoning and Rezoning," "Control of Condensation in Crawl Spaces," and "Saws—Their Care, Use, and Condition," suggest an attempt to illuminate a broad range of technical issues through detailed discussions of individual topics. At this point in the second major phase of public housing in the U.S., design appears to have been a low priority, with only one bulletin (entitled "Architectural Planning and Design") devoted specifically to the topic.

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The second wave of support for public housing lasted only a few years longer than the first. The reason for its rapid demise was not war, as was the case in the 1940s, but rather the perception that public housing was failing to achieve the expectations of the programs' creators. By the mid-1950s, "the general public's growing unhappiness...with the high incidence of crime, the generally sterile appearance, [and] the rising costs of construction and maintenance"¹⁵ was evidenced in a considerable change in contemporary writing on the subject of public housing. Fewer articles were written about new public housing projects, with the notable exception being those projects that differed in some way from the standardized norm. Public housing's most ardent early supporters criticized some aspects of how the flawed implementation of the program had affected the result. Focusing on design, Catherine Bauer wrote:

[T]here is a strong prejudice against the row house in most sections of America. What we need to know is whether its unpopularity is due to inherent factors (such as closeness to neighbors, relatively small yards, and lack of "individuality") or to the fact that few people have seen or occupied a really well-designed up-to-date version as yet.¹⁶

Respected trade journals printed editorials written by private industry which at times featured emotionally-charged rhetoric such as this, published in the January 1950 issue of *Architect and Engineer*:

If the government would stay off the market, 1950 would almost automatically be another all-time high year for home building. All conditions except that of the socialized housing threat are good.¹⁷

Problems with segregation policies caused even more discussion. Throughout the war local housing authorities had relatively little control over tenant selection; priority was given to defense workers and their families. However, as defense workers and veterans were phased out of public housing and new units were constructed, local housing authorities were again confronted with who to allow into the program and where those individuals would live. While the Housing Act of 1949 provided detailed guidance on how to identify low-income families, it did not address the problem's demographic aspect. In 1952, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed suit on behalf of three African-American families because they had been denied application to a San Francisco housing project reserved specifically for Caucasians. The San Francisco Housing Authority segregation policy was eventually found unconstitutional, setting the precedent for the rest of the nation.

In reaction to these critiques, officials began looking for other solutions to the country's affordable housing problems. One infamous strategy was "urban renewal," in which the existing federal public housing and slum clearance programs were combined with new efforts to develop commercial and transportation features of a given neighborhood. The process began with the Housing Acts of 1949 and 1954, which created federal subsidies for private industry projects on land that had been cleared of slums. Another, somewhat lesser-known, later program was referred to as the "scatter plan," in which local housing authorities purchased and renovated existing homes in various neighborhoods throughout their city in hopes of lessening the isolation and stigma attached to low-income public housing. Finally, throughout the post-war period the federal government passed legislation making private homes more accessible through new mortgage financing and subsidies.

Public Housing in San Francisco

Like many other local housing authorities, the history of the San Francisco Housing Authority (SFHA) begins with the United States Housing Act of 1937. Empowered by this act, the California Legislature passed the Housing Authorities Law in 1938, which allowed local communities to create their own housing authorities and begin

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asking for federal funding. The SFHA was formed in 1938 and was among the first California cities to request USHA funding.

In addition to requesting funds, the SFHA's initial efforts were directed toward determining how great the need for public housing was at the time. With the first survey indicating that 46,000 homes in San Francisco were "substandard," the agency planned 11 public housing projects with a total of 2,855 units.¹⁸ Five of these were undertaken before WWII (Holly Courts, Potrero Terrace, Sunnysdale, Valencia Gardens, and Westside Courts) and three were completed or partially occupied before December 1941 (Holly Courts, Potrero Terrace, Sunnysdale). Of these, two projects deserve particular attention: Holly Courts, because it was the first completed public housing project located west of the Rocky Mountains (May 1940) and was designed by Arthur Brown Jr., and, Westside Courts, because it was the only public housing project in San Francisco programmed specifically for African-American families.

Also like many other housing authorities, the SFHA undertook a public information campaign. This included brochures and pamphlets emphasizing modern conveniences, improved sanitary conditions, and careful planning. One of these brochures, entitled *Holly Courts*, describes the highlighted project with typical language:

The things to notice in the architecture of Holly are the service and simplicity, service to fulfill the basic needs of the tenants in little as well as big factors, in a floor that can be swept easily as well as in walls that won't fall down: simplicity primarily to keep construction costs low. The two together are important to good architecture. . . In spite of their rectangular simplicity and concrete construction, the buildings avoid austerity by the informality, their close relation to the play spaces, and their warm friendly color and texture.¹⁹

War-related changes in public housing policies made the SFHA the largest landlord in the City, managing the five permanent projects as well as 10,000 new temporary housing units. Many of these units were concentrated in Hunters Point, where land was easily secured and close to defense jobs, as well as in areas that private industry considered less desirable, such as steep terrain on Potrero Hill and along Alemany Boulevard. These locations eventually became the sites for permanent housing projects after the war.

Despite this new housing the City experienced a serious housing shortage during and after the war. Three million people moved to California between 1940 and 1947, with most of these choosing to settle in the San Francisco Bay and Los Angeles areas.²⁰ San Francisco's lack of older buildings meant that "there could be less 'filtering' down of homes from one class to another."²¹ Moreover, while federal mortgage programs made it possible for many more people to afford new homes, private industry was unable to build housing fast enough to satisfy demand. The 1945 executive order allowed the SFHA to defer the disposition of temporary war housing; however, the situation continued until the Housing Act of 1949 provided local housing authority officials with new funding and a refined mandate.

Soon after the Housing Act of 1949, the California legislature passed State Article XXXIV. Considered "the major success of the anti-public housing lobby in California," it required that any proposed public housing projects be approved in local referenda.²² When San Francisco voters passed several projects, though, the housing authority was able to proceed relatively unimpeded.

The first projects on the SFHA's list after World War II were the remaining six of the original 11 planned before the war. Designs for Ping Yuen in Chinatown and North Beach Place in North Beach were finished when the program was suspended so these two provided the most logical and most easily achievable starting point for the

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revived effort. Construction was completed for both projects in 1952, providing the first new permanent public housing in San Francisco in over a decade. Other projects that followed in the early 1950s tended to relate to the ongoing process of phasing out and disposing of temporary defense housing units. This usually meant providing new permanent housing near occupied temporary units or reusing land that had been recently cleared. Building new units adjacent to older ones was also an option, as in the case of Potrero Annex.

While the SFHA was starting to construct new, voter-approved permanent public housing, the agency was fending off negative national attention on its segregation policy. The "neighborhood pattern" policy officially began in 1942 when officials decided to base the racial mix of a project on that of the surrounding neighborhood. Out of the original 11 projects, for example, Westside Courts was set aside for African-Americans because there was a high concentration of African-Americans living in that area, Ping Yuen in Chinatown was reserved solely for the Chinese, and the remaining housing developments were meant for Caucasians. SFHA officials used the federal requirement of neighborhood "harmony" as justification, but within a decade the policy came under attack. In 1950, the San Francisco Board of Supervisors forced the agency into a partial compromise; the SFHA agreed to stop using the policy for tenants in newly designed and constructed projects but was able to continue enforcing it in "all war-deferred projects and existing low-rental housing."²³ The issue was finally settled by the United States Supreme Court in 1954, one week after its landmark ruling against the "separate but equal" policy in public schools. In the public housing case, the Supreme Court refused to hear an appeal from a federal district judge's ruling that San Francisco's "neighborhood pattern" policy was unconstitutional under the 14th Amendment.

During the first half of the 1950s, the SFHA's efforts focused on the disposition of temporary defense housing units, reviving the projects which had been postponed by the war, building new permanent housing, and defending their "neighborhood pattern" policy. The decisions made during this busy period in the agency's history continue as part of the legacy of San Francisco's public housing program.

The Development of Hunters View

The Hunters View housing project was designed in 1953-4 by architect Donald Beach Kirby & Associates and land planners French, Jones, Laflin & Associates. Construction began in 1954 and was completed in 1956 with housing for approximately 300 families.

At the time of the project's development, the Hunters Point neighborhood had already started its slow transition from a temporary defense worker population to a more permanent, family-oriented group of developments. Hunters View was the second of four 1950s-era projects to be built there, which together eventually created one of San Francisco's largest and most isolated concentrations of public housing.

In 1952 the SFHA described the design of a similar project, Hunters Point "A," as a "departure from the original reinforced concrete type of building previously constructed in the Public Housing program."²⁴ The agency cited the "postwar increase in the cost of construction" and federal per-room limits as reasons for having to "resort to frame and stucco type of building."²⁵ Indeed, though the built projects planned before the war, including Ping Yuen and North Beach Place, were all of concrete construction, all four of the Hunters Point projects would be built of stucco over wood frame.

To create a more "pleasant environment," site planning for the Hunters Point projects were based on the "garden-type" plan.²⁶ Similar to the superblock concept popular before the war, roads defined large sections of the project while footpaths provided the interior circulation. Giving less land over to roads meant that more could be allocated to play areas, dry yards, and other common-use features. This was unlike contemporary projects in dense urban areas, such as Ping Yuen and North Beach Place, where buildings were tightly packed into regular city blocks and

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the perimeter of the project was well-defined. When compared to low-density, pre-war projects such as Sunnydale or Potrero Terrace, site planners for the Hunters Point projects appear to have focused less on topography and more on the picturesque placement of buildings in landscape. Hunters Point also offered particularly good views of San Francisco Bay and this doubtless was a factor in the layout of the buildings. Donald Beach Kirby was a San Francisco-based architect with offices in Marin County and on the Peninsula whose work focused primarily on public buildings. Kirby was born in 1905 in Denver Colorado and graduated from the University of Pennsylvania in 1926. He started his own practice at the age of 28. Kirby's work included military construction, schools, churches, housing, commercial and industrial projects.²⁷ He held a number of leadership positions throughout his career, including serving as president of the San Francisco chapter of the American Institute of Architects (AIA) and then regional director of the AIA as well as several years as a City Planning Commissioner. In 1950 Kirby established the Artists Equity Association Fine Arts Award, an annual award for "distinguished service in the field of arts in architecture."²⁷ In addition to the Hunters View Housing Project in San Francisco, Kirby is noted for having designed the Noe Valley Community Center, public housing and the Post Library at the Presidio of San Francisco, an Administration Building for the Recreation and Parks Department, the Twin Peaks School and Miss Burke's School in Lincoln Park.

REGULATORY FRAMEWORK AND SIGNIFICANCE EVALUATIONS

The regulatory background provided below offers an overview of federal and state criteria used to assess historic significance.

Federal Criteria

National Register Bulletin Number 15, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, describes the Criteria for Evaluation as being composed of two factors. First, the property must be "associated with an important historic context."²⁸ The National Register identifies four possible context types, of which at least one must be applicable at the national, state, or local level. As listed under Section 8, "Statement of Significance," of the National Register of Historic Places Registration Form, these are:

- A. Property is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history.
- B. Property is associated with the lives of persons significant in our past.
- C. Property embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values, or represents a significant and distinguishable entity whose components lack individual distinction.
- D. Property has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important to prehistory or history.²⁹

Second, for a property to qualify under the National Register's Criteria for Evaluation, it must also retain "historic integrity of those features necessary to convey its significance."³⁰ While a property's significance relates to its role within a specific historic context, its integrity refers to "a property's physical features and how they relate to its significance."³¹ To determine if a property retains the physical characteristics corresponding to its historic context, the National Register has identified seven aspects of integrity:

Location is the place where the historic property was constructed or the place where the historic event occurred.

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Design is the combination of elements that create the form, plan, space, structure, and style of a property.

Setting is the physical environment of a historic property.

Materials are the physical elements that were combined or deposited during a particular period of time and in a particular pattern or configuration to form a historic property.

Workmanship is the physical evidence of the crafts of a particular culture or people during any given period in history or prehistory.

Feeling is a property's expression of the aesthetic or historic sense of a particular period of time.

Association is the direct link between an important historic event or person and a historic property.³²

Since integrity is based on a property's significance within a specific historic context, an evaluation of a property's integrity can only occur after historic significance has been established.³³

Evaluation

See evaluation following state criteria below.

State Criteria

The California Office of Historic Preservation's Technical Assistance Series #6, *California Register and National Register: A Comparison*, outlines the differences between the federal and state processes. The context types to be used when establishing the significance of a property for listing on the California Register are very similar, with emphasis on local and state significance. They are:

1. It is associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of local or regional history, or the cultural heritage of California or the United States; or
2. It is associated with the lives of persons important to local, California, or national history; or
3. It embodies the distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction or represents the work of a master, or possesses high artistic values; or
4. It has yielded, or is likely to yield, information important to prehistory or history of the local area, California, or the nation.³⁴

Like the NRHP, evaluation for eligibility to the California Register requires an establishment of historic significance before integrity is considered. California's integrity threshold is slightly lower than the federal level. As a result, some resources that are historically significant but do not meet NRHP integrity standards may be eligible for listing on the California Register.³⁵

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California's list of special considerations is shorter and more lenient than the NRHP. It includes some allowances for moved buildings, structures, or objects, as well as lower requirements for proving the significance of resources that are less than 50 years old and a more elaborate discussion of the eligibility of reconstructed buildings.³⁶ In addition to separate evaluations for eligibility to the California Register, the state will automatically list resources if they are listed or determined eligible for the NRHP through a complete evaluation process.³⁷

California Historical Resource Status Codes

The California Historic Resource Status Codes (status codes) are a series of ratings created by the California Office of Historic Preservation (SHPO) to quickly and easily identify the historic status of resources listed in the state's historic properties database. These codes were revised in August 2003 to better reflect the many historic status options available to evaluators. The following are the seven major status code headings:

1. Properties listed in the National Register or the California Register.
2. Properties determined eligible for listing in the National Register or the California Register.
3. Appears eligible for National Register or California Register through Survey Evaluation.
4. Appears eligible for National Register or California Register through other evaluation.
5. Properties recognized as historically significant by local government.
6. Not eligible for listing or designation.
7. Not evaluated for National Register or California Register or needs revaluation.

EVALUATION OF HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE

A records check verified that Hunters View Housing Development is not listed on the National or California Registers or as a local landmark. It was not evaluated as part of any previous historic survey, including the 1976 Citywide Architectural Survey, the 1968 Junior League Survey (*Here Today*), or any San Francisco Architectural Heritage surveys.

Evaluation of California Register Eligibility

To be potentially eligible for listing on the CRHR, a structure must typically be over 50 years old, must have historic significance, and must retain its physical integrity. The housing development at Hunters Point is 51 years old, having been constructed in 1956. The property, therefore, meets the age requirement.

Criterion A/1 (Event)

The Hunters View housing development cannot be considered historically significant under Criterion 1 for its association with post World War II housing developments.

Hunters View was constructed as a public housing development in the 1950s. During this time period, the Hunters Point neighborhood was already in the process of transitioning from temporary defense worker housing to permanent, family-oriented residential projects. However, Hunter View was not the first housing development in San Francisco since Ping Yuen in Chinatown and North Beach Place in North Beach were constructed in 1952, a year before Hunters View was designed.

Nor was Hunters View considered the most significant of these developments. While the Westside Courts is significant for being the only housing development to reserve occupancy solely for African-Americans and the Ping

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Yuen for housing only Chinese, Hunters View was the second of four housing developments reserved solely for Caucasians.¹⁸ While events associated with the development of public housing during the 1950s are significant to broad trends of economic and social development, Hunters View's association with this trend of development is not significant enough to qualify for the NRHP or CRHR under Criterion A/1.

Criterion B/2 (Person)

Archival research uncovered no association between the Hunters View housing development and any persons significant to local, California, or national history. As such, the subject property is not eligible for the NRHP or CRHR under Criterion B/2.

Criterion C/3 (Design/Construction)

The Hunters View housing development does not represent the work of a master. Donald Beach Kirby is well recognized for his contribution to the design of various public projects. Kirby's design of Hunters View reflects the Public Housing program's standardized unit plan and post-war budgetary constraints, and thus, are not representative of his work. Although some of the building types constructed at Hunters View distinctly reference an "International Style," they do not possess high artistic value, nor do they represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction.

The Hunters View housing development represents standard public housing design and construction in the 1950s. Although wood framed, stucco-clad construction was considered a departure from the reinforced concrete construction standard of the Public Housing program, the all of the projects in the Hunters Point neighborhood were built using wood and stucco to cut down on construction costs. Because it does not represent an outstanding example of its kind as a housing development in the 1950s, nor does it represent the work of a master, the Hunters View housing development does not appear to be eligible for the NRHP or CRHR under Criterion C/3.

Criterion D/4 (Information Potential)

Archival research provided no indication that Hunters View housing development has the potential to yield information important to the prehistory or history of the local area, California, or the nation. The property is therefore not eligible for the NRHP or CRHR under Criterion D/4.

We have assigned the property a NRHP and CRHR Status Code of 6Z, which indicates, in our opinion, that the property is not eligible for a separate listing in the National Register of Historic Places or the California Register of Historic Resources.

Integrity

To be listed in the NRHP or CRHR, a property must not only be shown to be significant under the established criteria, it must also possess historic "integrity". Integrity is defined as "the ability of a property to convey its significance." The National Register criteria for historic significance recognize seven aspects or qualities that define integrity: location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association. While Hunters View retains its location and association, substantial alterations and lack of original landscaping have compromised the project's design, setting, materials, workmanship and feeling. Because historic significance could not be established, a thorough evaluation of the site's integrity was not conducted.

ENDNOTES

¹ Robinson & Associates, Inc., and Jeffrey Shrimp ton, *Draft Historic Context: Public Housing in the United States, 1933-1949*

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² Nathan Straus, Foreword to U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Housing Authority, *Design of Low-Rent Housing Projects: Planning the Site* (Bulletin no. 11 on Policy and Procedure, 1939), 3.

³ Oakland Cultural Heritage Survey, *State of California Historic Resources Inventory Form for Peralta Villa* (August 1990), 8.

⁴ Catherine Bauer, *Modern Housing* (Boston & New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934), 178.

⁵ Bauer, 178.

⁶ Bauer, 180-1.

⁷ U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Housing Authority, 22.

⁸ U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Housing Authority, 22.

⁹ U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Housing Authority, 71.

¹⁰ U.S. Department of the Interior, U.S. Housing Authority, 46-7.

¹¹ Robinson & Associates, 84-5.

¹² Gwendolyn Wright, "The Evolution of Public Housing Policy and Design in the San Francisco Bay Area," Ph.D. diss. exam (University of California, Berkeley, 1976), 31.

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¹⁴ Catherine Bauer, *Social Questions in Housing and Town Planning* (London: University of London Press, 1952), 20-1.

¹⁵ Wright, 42-3

¹⁶ Bauer, *Social Questions*, 21.

¹⁷ Rodney M. Lockwood, "Increased Home Construction Costs May Result from Federal Housing Program," *Architect and Engineer* 153, no. 1 (January 1950), 11.

¹⁸ "History of the Authority," *San Francisco Housing Authority 1942-1943 Annual Report*, no. 5 (April 15, 1943).

¹⁹ *Holly Courts* (San Francisco: San Francisco Housing Association, 1940), 1.

²⁰ Wright, 28.

²¹ Wright, 28.

²² Wright, 33.

²³ "Cooperation Agreement Bans Racial Segregation," *The Journal of Housing* 7, no. 3 (March 1950), 82.

²⁴ San Francisco Housing Authority, *Annual Report* (1952), 3.

²⁵ San Francisco Housing Authority, 3.

²⁶ San Francisco Housing Authority, *Road to the Golden Age: A Report on the First Twenty Years of Operations* (1960), 16.

²⁷ Biography of Donald Beach Kirby, The Office of the Mayor, San Francisco, January 10, 1957.

²⁸ National Park Service, *How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, National Register Bulletin 15, Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, 1997, 3.

²⁹ National Park Service, *How to Complete the National Register Registration Form*, National Register Bulletin 16A, Washington, DC: United States Department of the Interior, 1997, 75.

³⁰ National Park Service, National Register Bulletin 15, 3.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 44.

³² *Ibid.*, 44-45.

³³ *Ibid.*, 45.

³⁴ California Office of Historic Preservation, *California Register and National Register: A Comparison*, Technical Assistance Series 6, Sacramento, CA: California Department of Parks and Recreation, 2001, 1.

³⁵ California Office of Historic Preservation, *California Register and National Register*, 1.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁷ All State Historical Landmarks from number 770 onward are also automatically listed on the California Register. (California Office of Historic Preservation, *California Register of Historical Resources: The Listing Process*, Technical Assistance Series 5, Sacramento, CA: California Department of Parks and Recreation, n.d., 1.)

³⁸ The other three developments include; Hunters Point "A", Westbrook, and Alemany.

